

The Christian Subject's Duty
TO HIS
LAWFUL PRINCE.
IN A
SERMON
PREACH'D

January the 30th, 17¹⁵/₁₆,
AT
St. ETHELBURGA'S.

By LUKE MILBOURNE, Rector
of St. Ethelburga's.

The Second Edition, Corrected.

*Videbis viatos vestros a Carolo V^{to} captosque & affectos
contumelia privatos etiam Bonis; in Gallia captum
primo bello Condæum, tertio occisum, Amiralium
semper viatum, tandem trucidatum, cum magna pro-
cerum turba; in Belgio itidem Orangium globo pro-
stratum; certe judicare aliud non possum, quam ingra-
ta illorum arma Deo fuisse.*

Jac. Bongarsii Epistola ad Joachimum,
Joachimi Camerarii filium.

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Black Fryer in Black Fryers, for G. SAWBRIDGE at the
Three Golden Flower-de-Luces in Little Britain. 1716.
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John xviii. 36.

Jesus answer'd, My Kingdom is not of this World: If my Kingdom were of this World, then would my Servants fight, that I should not be deliver'd to the Jews: But now is my Kingdom not from hence.

THIS Text contains the Reply of the blessed *Jesus*, now brought before *Pontius Pilate*, the *Roman President of Judea*, to that Accusation which the Scribes, and Pharisees, and Chief Priests, had brought against him: Their crafty Malice troubled not *Pilate* much, with the Story of his assuming to himself the Title of *the Son of God*, and so making himself *equal with God*; nor with his pretending to be *the Christ*, who had been promis'd in elder Days to redeem *Israel* from their Sins: These would have been idle and impertinent Tales, to one wholly unacquainted with the Principles of the *Jewish Religion*; whose Busines it was only to take Care of the *Roman Interests in Judea*, and how to please his Master *Tiberius*, who had vested in him so very great a Trust.

His Enemies therefore charge him with asserting, that he himself *was Christ, a King*, and therefore with forbidding Men to pay *Tribute to Cesar*. These Accusations indeed, if they would but stick, were very material; and *Pilate*, as a Substitute of *Cesar's*, was bound to vindicate his Master's Right and Title to the Government of *Judea*, against any Pretenders whosoever. *Pilate*, as ill a Man as he was, was not so thoroughly satisfy'd of the Veracity of our Lord's Accusers, as to take every Thing they laid against him, upon Trust, or upon their Honesty, but he examines the Prisoner himself. *Pilate* saw well enough, that the outward Appearance of the *holy Jesus*, was such as could not threaten much Danger to the mighty Powers of the *Roman Empire*; a Man who did not take upon him to make Alliances with any of the Enemies of *Rome*; who pretended not either to raise Forces in *Judea*, or to depend on any foreign Assistances, nor to carry any thing of Pride or irregular Ambition in his Mien or Behaviour; nay, a Man who had not so much as where to lay his Head, did not seem very likely to set up for Royalty, or, at that Time of Day, to assume the Imperial Character.

When *Pilate* first ask'd these pious Patriots, what Accusation they brought against the Prisoner, they seem to stand very much upon their Reputation; *If, say they, he were not a Malefactor, we would not have deliver'd him up to thee*. No, good Men! they were admir'd by the poor deluded Multitude, for their imaginary Holiness, Mortification, Self-Denial, and all the showy Parts of Religion; and sure they could be no Deceivers; they neve

knew what Malice, Jealousy, Faction, or Ambition meant ; and therefore, had they not been abundantly appriz'd of the Prisoner's notorious Guilt, they'd never have prosecuted him before so just and so discerning a Governor as *Pilate* was. They tell him, indeed, that *they had a Law*, and that by that *Law he ought to die*, because he made himself the *Son of God* ; but that was only by the *By*, and they would not insist upon it before him ; and, perhaps, they who bolted out that Accusation, had no great Thanks from their more politick Companions, since, by that Insinuation, *Pilate* easily discover'd that *Jesus* was put into his Hands only *out of Envy* ; and he, to fit them in their own Way, bids them *take him and judge him* by that *Law of theirs* ; but Providence having determin'd Matters otherwise, the leading *Jews* very warily declare themselves to have no Power in their present conquer'd State, to put any *Man to Death* ; and, that he might take that Judgment into his own Hands, they accuse him, either of setting up a *Title to the Roman Empire* for himself, or, at least, to the *Monarchy of Judea*, independent of the *Roman Sovereignty*. Now, had he really appear'd, in outward Circumstances, any Way agreeable to such a Pretence, he then had been that very Person, whom they, his Accusers, look'd for : They foolishly hop'd, that the expected *Messias* would have made their *Jerusalem* the glorious *Seat of an universal worldly Empire* ; but while they themselves despis'd his servile Garb, as incapable of any such extraordinary Undertakings, they had yet the malicious Confidence to put him upon *Pilate*, as one likely enough to overturn the *Roman State*.

Pilate views him as one so little likely to effect any such wonderful Changes in the *Roman World*, that he fairly puts the Question to the blessed *Jesus* : *Art thou the King of the Jews?* Our Lord asks him, whether he propos'd that Question of himself, or mov'd by the Report of others ? To which, *Pilate* returns, with Calmness enough, *Am I a Jew?* i. e. Am I one who, from any such Principles as I am wholly unacquainted with, could have any Jealousy of thee ? *Thine own Nation, and the Chief Priests, have deliver'd thee unto me; What hast thou done?* Or, by what Practices of thine, hast thou put it into the Heads of thy Country-men, that they should charge thee with setting up thy self for a King ? The blessed *Jesus* takes no Notice of the spiteful Clamours of the *Jews* ; but, in his Answer to *Pilate*, owns himself to be a *King*, but no such King as, at whose ambitious Endeavours, the *Roman Emperor* could take any just Umbrage : It was plain that he had never made Use of those Methods, by which others us'd to aspire to worldly Grandeur : *No, says he, for if my Kingdom had been of this World, then would my Servants fight, that I should not be deliver'd to the Jews; but now is my Kingdom not from hence.* By which Words, he intimates, that if he had pretended to a worldly Empire, the *Jews* were none of those over whom he pretended to reign ; for the

the President himself might see that they were his declar'd Enemies ; and they being so, if he had had any worldly Subjects, or Servants, any such as own'd him their Lord and Sovereign, they would have been on his Side, and, according to the Duty of Servants, would have assisted and defended him against the Insults of the *Jews*, his barbarous and irreconcileable Enemies. All this *Pilate* knew well enough ; in discoursing with him in this Manner, our Lord did not talk with him out of his Reach, but prov'd his Kingdom not to be of this World, by that very Argument which *Pilate*, if call'd upon to that Purpose, would have made Use of, to prove himself the true and faithful Subject and Servant of *Tiberius Cesar*. From this Answer, then, of our Master to *Pilate*, we learn, that

The Subjects, or Servants, of all lawful Princes, are oblig'd, by the very Nature of Government, and the Agreement of all Mankind, to endeavour, by Force of Arms, if otherwise they cannot, to rescue and defend their Sovereigns from any Injuries offer'd them by any of their Enemies.

This is what he, who could not deceive, nor be deceiv'd, laid before the *Roman Governor*, as an *Hypothesis* upon which he might build a valid Argument, to prove his own Innocence, as to that Crime which his Enemies charg'd him with, and as a Truth which *Pilate*, tho' an ignorant Heathen, was as well appris'd of as any Man. It's true, our Lord was silent, as to other Things alledg'd against him, and to some Questions propos'd to him ; for had he answer'd them directly, and cloath'd his Answer with all that Brightness of Wisdom and Eloquence, which he, as Man, was Master of, the Hearts of the Multitude would have been so turn'd against his principal Persecutors, that instead of crying, *Crucify him ! Crucify him !* they'd have *Hosanna'd* him, and have turn'd the Stream of their Fury against them ; so that the *Turkish Dream* might have been literally verify'd, and the *Judge*, and not the *Criminal*, have suffer'd Death. As, if he had pleas'd too, he could have commanded *more than twelve Legions of Angels*, a Legion of those fiery Ministers of Heaven, instead of every single Disciple, to defend him ; but that then the *Scriptures could not have been fulfill'd* ; that *thus it must be*, if ever a sinful World were redeem'd from the threat'ning Vengeance of an angry God.

Now, tho' it be the present Mode, to make the *incarnate Son*, or *Word*, or *Reason* of God, as some Pretenders to Criticism would have him call'd, speak and argue as loosely and impertinently, as those miscall'd the *Men of Sense* in our Days, and make his *Apostles* to speak one Thing, and mean another, or any Thing that an irreligious Head can hammer out, we'll not trouble our selves to be so very much in Fashion, but we'll civilly suppose, that our Saviour, in this last Act of his Life on Earth, being before so Great a Man, and having, on all Occasions, shew'd himself so very respectful to the Authority and Rights of

Cesar, would speak pertinently, and argue closely. He offer'd not to put any Fallacy upon Pilate, nor did he offer a Plea to him in his own Vindication, which would not bear the Test; but he offers the common Sense of all Mankind, who either had any tolerable Notions of Government, or of the Reason of Things, against the Calumnies of his Accusers. — *If my Kingdom were of this World, then would my Servants fight, that I should not be deliver'd to the Jews.* Nothing can be dangerous to the Roman Power, which is not in this World, and visible to every Eye; such a Kingdom, such a Government I pretend not to; if I did, I'm not so vain as to assume the Royal Title, without any Ensigns of Royalty; I would not pretend to be a King in this World, without Servants, or to hold a Kingdom without Subjects: But if I had a Kingdom here, and had Subjects and Servants, doubtless my Servants would be like the Servants of other Princes and Potentates; they'd be as zealous for my Honour, they'd adhere to my Interests, they'd be as forward to assist and defend me against my Enemies, as those of other Monarchs use to be, as the Subjects of *Rome*, as your self would be ready to do. But it's plain I have no Partisans, I have no Guard; and if I had, I have shewn, that I would not let them use their Swords in my Cause, but perform'd a Miracle to demonstrate my peaceable Inclinations, my Freedom from all manner of Ambition, and my being altogether unconcern'd in the Glories of this World; therefore, my Kingdom is not of this World, I am no Pretender to an Empire over the natural Offspring of *Israel*; so that you need not be jealous, or afraid of me.

Those whom we call *lawful Princes*, in the Proposition deduc'd from the Text, are such as are settled in that Dignity by the *ancient and fundamental Laws* of every particular Body politick. They are such as neither intrude themselves by Fraud or Violence to the Wrong of others, nor such as are irregularly or tumultuously obtruded upon others, by a Number of Men gotten together on their own Heads, without any Call from a superior lawful Authority; nor such as by raising Parties and Factions against the present, indisputable, rightful Governors, get themselves substituted in their Places. Now, all Kingdoms being either hereditary or elective, lawful Princes in hereditary Kingdoms are such as, upon the Demise of the Prince Regent, are immediately the sovereign Lords of any Country, by their Birth; which, according to the original Constitutions of such Countries, they have as good a Title to, as, by the same Laws, every Free-man's Child has to the Estate of his Father, out of which a stronger Purse and Interest may keep him for a while; but when true Law, and impartial Justice, takes Place, the right Heir frequently recovers it. On the side of such a Prince, the fundamental Laws of such a Country always stand; and there's never any Deviation from such Laws, but it's follow'd by a prodigious Effusion of Blood and Treasure; for, where Men once break in upon such a Constitution,

every

every Man is ready to set up for himself; and Laws once set aside, are but a poor Security to any Country for the future.

In an elective Monarchy, a *lawful King* is usually such a one as, according to the standing Laws and Customs of such a Country, is chosen by the Majority of Men of such Characters or Qualifications, as have, either by a tacit or an explicit Consent of the whole Commonalty, met on such Occasions, and in whose Judgment the rest of the People readily acquiesce. Such a Prince, not being born to Crowns or Scepters, must accept of them only on such Conditions as those who chuse him think fit; he's at his Choice whether he'll accept of the Dignity offer'd upon such Conditions, or not; but when he has accepted it on the Conditions propos'd, he's under the strongest Obligation in the World to perform them. We know that in the *Roman Empire*; tho' the Monarchy was Elective, and the Emperors most commonly chosen by the Military Men, yet they generally had no other Conditions put upon them, than what the *Israelites* propos'd to *Samuel*, when they desir'd that they might have a King, *viz.* *That they might be like all other Nations*; *that their King might judge them, and go out before them, and fight their Battels.* Hence never were Princes more absolute, than the Emperors of *Rome*; nor ever was any Empire more prosperous than that, while their Emperors, whether Heathen or Christian, were absolute, arbitrary, and uncontrollable: Nor ever did any Prince shew a truer Sense of his own Authority, and the Extent of it, than that pious and excellent Monarch *Valentinian the 1st*, who when, of a Field-Officer, he was chosen Emperor by the Army, and carry'd on their Shoulders in a triumphant Pomp, and his Electors desir'd him, according to their late Custom, to nominate a Partner with himself in the Government, with a Majesty becoming that Dignity he was call'd to, answer'd them, 'It was in your Choice, my fellow Soldiers, whether you would have bestow'd the Imperial Purple on me, or not; but since you have done it, it becomes not you to prescribe; I shall act as I think fit; it's your Business and Duty to be satisfy'd. And, indeed, according to this Method, all arbitrary Princes, whether in an hereditary or elective Monarchy, perpetually act; and the Subjects have generally liv'd the most *quietly and peacefully*; and such are thought, by wise Men, to live the most *happily*, who are under such Monarchs as make the fewest Relaxations of their Power.'

We have no Reason to believe that *Commonwealths*, as distinguish'd from *Monarchies*, are of equal Antiquity with them, since we have none left upon Record in *History*, which did not rise from some Dissatisfactions in the People for the Abuse of the Regal Power. Where-ever such *Republikeks* have been constituted, that of *Venice* only excepted, they have not been settled without a great deal of Contention and Difficulty: That of *Rome* in particular was not thoroughly settled in fewer than two hundred

hundred and fifty Years ; but where they have been fully settled in a longer Course of Time, where all the proper Claimants to Kingship, have resign'd their Rights, and acknowledg'd the present Settlement as just and independent, there the governing Lords or People, as being possess'd of the supreme and uncontrollable Power, are to be look'd upon as lawful Princes ; for it's the rightful Power makes the Sovereign, and they who are possess'd of it, are Princes effectively, whether they be one, or more ; and tho' they are never so often chang'd, yet, so long as those in present Possession of the governing Power, go out, and those who take their Places, come in, according to the standing Customs or Constitutions of the Place or Country, they only are the lawful Governors there ; and, if in any Insurrection or Rebellion, a tumultuous Mob should force any of the present lawful Governors out of their Stations, and violently thrust others into them ; all such so thrust in, would be Usurpers, and would have no just Authority to execute the old Laws, or to make new, since, by their Usurpations, they violate all Laws in being before. Now, the standing Customs and Constitutions of every Country, are the Measures by which the Justice of the present Government is to be examin'd. In conquer'd Countries, indeed, the Will of the Conqueror is usually the Law of the Body politick, which he has brought under him, unless, out of some politick Reasons, or the Goodness of his own Nature, he thinks fit to re-confirm their old Laws, if good ; or, with their own Consent and Advice, to give them better than they had before.

Now, every Government, or politick Body, consists of *Persons governing, and of Persons governed* : A King or States without Subjects, or Subjects without a King or States to govern them, are an Absurdity even in Imagination ; they are *Correlates*, and can't subsist one without the other ; that *Bauble of a State of Nature*, which some make a Noise with, is only the Chimera of a few atheistical Heads, by what Names or Titles soever dignify'd or distinguish'd. The Design of God, in the Institution of Government, was primarily, that the Management of the lower World might, in some Measure, represent that of the superior World, and its numerous Inhabitants ; a Government suited to which, must, of Necessity, tend to the Peace and Happiness, both of the Governed and Governors ; the Difference between those Governments lying chiefly in this, that all the Hosts of Heaven were created *full, and at once* ; the Inhabitants of the lower World were to *increase and multiply*, and consequently Time would every Day produce more to govern, and more to be govern'd : But all that original Power with which Governors were at first invested, and all that Reason which made Men desire to be under Government, was immediately from God, and directed by him, and would have been beneficial to the Inhabitants of this visible World, tho' Man had continu'd in his first Innocence ; as we can not doubt, but that the Felicity of the blessed Angels themselves,

consists

consists in their being under the Government of their Maker. The first Man was made *absolute Sovereign* of all the visible living Creatures in the World, if his original Commission be of any Validity, while *Eve* was yet only in *Adam's* Loins, when God blessed him, and said, *Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the Earth, and subdue it, and have Dominion over the Fishes of the Sea, and over the Fowls of the Air, and over every living Thing that moveth on the Earth.* And this Commission, as to its full Force and Effect, would never have been objected to in any Particular whatsoever, had not the Sin and Disobedience of our first Parents, corrupted Nature, and put all the visible Animals in the World in Arms against him, who had been a Rebel against his Creator, and fill'd Mankind, as increasing and under a Curse, full of Hatred, Contentions, and Animosities one against another.

In this unhappy State of ours, it was, that as God was pleas'd to reprieve sinful Man from that Death he had incur'd, and to continue his Commission so far as Sin had left it practicable, so God gave Man something of Policy and Courage, suited to the then degenerated State of Things, that what the subject Creature might obstinately refuse, that the Wisdom and Reason of Man might, by various Ways of Address, or by Force, compel them to. He planted in the immediate Descendants from *Adam*, not only an *Awe* of him, as the *universal Sovereign*, but a Principle of Obedience to him as a *natural Father*; and in the Increase of their fellow Creatures, and such as they were most conversant with, gave them a frequent View of the Dependance of the Creatures upon their Parents, and the Care of such Parents to provide for, and to defend their Young; which Care of Parents for their Children, and which Dependance of the Children upon their Parents, must naturally, and by Instinct, as well as rationally, and by Discourse, imprint upon the Minds of Children, a perpetual Veneration of their Parents; and upon the Hearts of Parents, a perpetual Affection and Inclination to their Children, even when they should be providentially separated, and seem to have no farther Need of one another; of which, even in this decrepit Age of the World, we meet with some very remarkable Instances.

But when the Increase of their Race made it necessary for Mankind to separate from one another, that they might get more Room for their Subsistence, this natural Inclination of Parents and Children, reciprocally one to another, still continuing, he must be a *Man of the present Age*, who would not suppose that the travelling Children would take Leave of their Fathers, and beg their Blessing, and their farther necessary Instructions; or that their first Parents would not send them away without their Blessing, their Counsel, or without imparting to them some of their Authority, for the better Management of their own Families, and their multiplying Posterity: And the same God who had created Government among Mankind, first taught the Younger to be subject to

the Elder, the Children to their Parents, inspir'd them with such Reasons as convinc'd them of the Benefit of, and Safety in their Submission to their Elders, and to Persons of more Courage, Experience, and Wisdom, than themselves. The same God taught the Parents and Elders too, that Wisdom and Conduct that they easily understood, that their own immediate worldly Happiness consisted chiefly in the Prosperity and Welfare of those who, as being related, could not but be dear to them; which too could not but contribute to their Parents Greatness and Authority: And he gave the younger and inferior Sort, that true Sense of Things, as to know that the Greatness, Authority, and inward Satisfaction of Mind, which their Superiors might enjoy, would tend most to their own Good; would make their Governors the more capable of promoting their Welfare, of protecting them from all Dangers, and of attaining to those great and good Ends, in Expectation of which, the All-wise God instituted, and the All-wanting Sons of Adam wish'd for, and readily submitted to Government.

What was thus settled in the old World, after that had been destroy'd by the universal Deluge, was renew'd to it when restor'd in the Person and Posterity of righteous Noah. Noah had, doubtless, as great Authority over his Descendants, as Adam had enjoy'd before, and pursu'd the same Methods for re-peopling the World, and for its Government when peopled. God was pleas'd sometimes, out of the ordinary Course, to raise some extraordinary Spirits, and to endue them with such Majesty, Prudence, Eloquence, and Courage, as made mighty Numbers admire them, follow them, submit to them, look upon it as one of their greatest Felicities in this World, to live under their Commands; and such were they who gave Beginnings to the greatest Empires in the World. Such a one Nimrod seems to have been, who gave the first Beginnings to the Assyrian Empire; whatever his true Character was, that he was a mighty Hunter before the Lord, means only, that he was one who, with abundance of Courage, and an indefatigable Industry, endeavour'd, by continual Hunting, to clear the Forests, Mountains, and waste Grounds, from savage and dangerous Beasts, that they might become safe Habitations for Men. This Undertaking drew great Numbers after him, both for Exercise and Profit, and made them admire his Prudence and Sagacity in his Undertaking, as well as his Valour in performing so great a Work; and therefore, to be willing, under the Influence of his Conduct, to take Possession of those formerly dangerous, and to enjoy the Benefit of those now better cultivated Lands; these Incidents made

Gen. 10. 8. Nimrod become a mighty Man upon the Earth, and to be able to found a powerful Monarchy, by building and peopling of Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calnoth, in the Land of Shinar; and out of that Land he went out into Assyria, and built Nineveh, and the City Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen, between Nineveh and Calah; the same is a great City. And

And its no Wonder, that when God inspir'd the Multitude with the Desire to live under some Government, for their own Security, that they follow'd one of so great Abilities, both of Body and Mind, and became his Subjects.

Nor can we wonder, that one of so great a Reach, and so noble an Ambition, drew many to join in his Designs, to promote his Interests, and to second and encourage his generous and aspiring Nature ; or that I interpret his being a mighty Hunter before the Lord, as I do, since the Increase of savage Beasts in Lands thin of Inhabitants, or not at all inhabited, is usual ; Whence God forbade the *Israelites* to destroy the *Canaanites* all at once, least the *Beasts of the Field* should multiply against them, and destroy them ; and the terrible Desolations which *Shalmanasar*, the *Affyrian*, made in the Kingdom of *Israel*, gave Way to the Increase of Lyons in that Country, which God made use of as Instruments of his Vengeance against an ignorant and idolatrous People now living there.

The Greatness of some Men in those early Ages, and the Multitude of their Friends and Followers, gave them Encouragement to desire to be greater, and to compel more to come under the Shadow of their Wings ; since little *Princes*, such as *Joshua* conquer'd in *Canaan*, were not able to protect them from their Violence and Oppression ; and we know it's a receiv'd Maxim of our modern *Politicians*, and the fundamental Principle of their pretended Loyalty, that they owe no Faith to any Prince who-fover, how rightfully soever posses'd of that Dignity, and how well qualify'd soever for the Execution of his Office, any longer than he's able to protect them from the Injuries of an *Invader* or *Usurper* ; as all *Israel* were in the Right, and acted like wise and good Men, who submitted to *Absalom*, when *David* had abdicated the Government, by retiring beyond *Jordan* ; and they were every whit as wise, when they were so eager to bring *David* home to his own House, when the usurping Rebel was dead ; but they happen'd to fail a little in their Measures, when they listen'd to the Trumpet of *Sheba*, the Son of *Bichri*, and fell in with the Rebel-Party, before they knew what the Event would be. Again, the Greatness of some, rais'd the Jealousy and Envy of others, who thought themselves and their own Glories eclips'd by the Reputation and Successes of such active and enterprizing Men : So the Injuries and the Oppressions on one side, and the Suspicion and Envy on the other, produc'd Wars ; on one side, for the Defence and Vindication of their suffering Subjects or Allies, and putting a Stop to the Encroachments of their growing Neighbours ; on the other side, for pushing on their own ambitious Schemes, justifying their Oppressions by increasing them, and preventing their Neighbours from ever growing strong enough to retaliate the Mischiefs they have done.

Here now, the Soldiers and Servants of the more powerful Monarch, as having been made rich in Honour, and by the Spoils of

submitting Nations, knowing well that such extraordinary Successes are apt to raise Envy, and to multiply Dangers to the Person and Government of their victorious Leader, will be sure to stand by him; they'll look upon Honour and Conquest as entail'd upon them, under such a Monarch, and therefore will endeavour still to keep down all those whom they have got the upper-hand of already, and doubt not but that it's both their Duty and Interest to do so. On the other Hand, the Soldiers of the *lesser* Prince, or Princes, well satisfy'd with his Person and Government, and loath to change one, of whose Prudence, Goodness, and Courage, they have had long Experience, for one whom they know not; being well satisfy'd too of *the Right* their present Sovereign has to their Allegiance and Fidelity, and to the Use of their Lives and Fortunes, they arm as cheerfully, and as readily, in the Defence of their own Prince, to maintain his Cause, and to secure his Throne, as the other can do: And honest Men, who fear God, and look up to him as the only *lawful Disposer of Kingdoms and Governments*, are apt to believe, that a small Force on the juster Side, will be able to do as much as the greater visible Power of an ambitious Conqueror and Usurper: And that the King, who has but ten thousand Men, having God on his Side, may meet with him, who comes against him with twenty thousand, without any Disadvantage; and if their several Subjects will do so much for their several Princes, upon a War commenc'd between them, much more will such *honest and faithful Subjects and Servants* do, for their own lawful Sovereign, when a factious and discontented Crew are meditating Rebellion, or plotting and confederating to pull him down, and to substitute another in his Place.

It's not to be doubted, but that the better and more sensible Men are, the better Princes they desire and pray for, and wish for them, that they may be glorious, happy, and perfect in all manner of Virtues. But while they are every Day more and more sensible of their own Weakness, and of the many Miscarriages, which, in spite of all their Care and Studies, they themselves are guilty of in the Management of their own private Families, where yet, if they please, they may see with their own Eyes, and hear with their own Ears, without much Dependance on the Truth and Fidelity of others, they can neither wonder nor complain, if there be many great and visible Errors in a great Nation, under the Government of a *David*, or a *Solomon*; they therefore bear with such Errors, take no Notice of them, put the best Construction upon such Passages as are not agreeable to their own Wishes: They put up Prayers, Supplications, Intercessions, and Thanksgivings for their Princes, begging of God that he would bless, guide, and direct them; give them pious, wise, and faithful Counsellors, and turn every Thing to the best; that so Men under their lawful Prince, who is but a *Man*, may live quiet and peaceable Lives, in all *Godliness and Honesty*. *Such Men*

Men observe too, that the loudest Complainers of the Male-Administration of their lawful Governors, are generally the most vile and profligate of Mankind, Men of no Religion, no Morals, no Honour, such Persons as for sparing whom only, the Government can be justly arraign'd. Now, let the Clamours of such Wretches be never so loud, and the Quarrels they pick with their Superiors, be never so plausible ; such *good Men, and good Subjects* as I am speaking of, will never concur with, nor enter into, any Confederacies with them. Ill Men, they know, are always given to Change, good and wise Men are always against them ; the *former* would not change the Prince they quarrel with, for a better, but for a worse, whether in personal Qualifications, or in Title, for one more obnoxious to themselves, or more complaisant and agreeable to their Humours and Vices : The *latter* know all Changes to be of fatal Consequence, and that Nations are seldom or never quiet, 'till, like fermenting Liquors, they have thrown off all that's foul and poisonous, and return to their original Fineness and Purity.

In such Cases as these, therefore, *good Christians and good Subjects* will always stand by their *lawful and rightful Princes*, with their Lives and Fortunes, not in an empty Address, but in Reality. There are, indeed, too few of such excellent Subjects, as we find by the small Number of those who follow'd David, when he fled from his rebellious Son, yet the Fidelity of those few prevail'd at last against the *more numerous Rebels* ; and so, unless the Sins of a wicked People prevent the Blessing, God's gracious Providence generally favours the righteous Cause at last. Good Subjects will lay down their Lives in Defence of their lawful Prince, against his Rebels, as well as against others, as our Master tells us in the Text, *If his Kingdom had been of this World, then would his Servants have fought, that he might not have been deliver'd to the Jews*. We know that the holy Jesus was born King of the Jews ; that the Throne of his Father David was promis'd to him of old, and belong'd to him only of Right ; yet, as the Evangelist tells us, *He came to his own, and his own receiv'd him not* ; he was accus'd before Pilate, as one pretending to be a King, and he, to the great Satisfaction of his Accusers, put that Title over his Head upon the Cross, *Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews*. That then was his true Title, that his Right, but his Kingdom was *Spiritual*, not *Temporal* ; he demanded the Renditions of Mens Souls to him, not of their Bodies ; the *Romans* might govern them still, by their Imperial Laws ; Christ came not to exempt them from Obedience to *Casar* ; he desir'd to rule in their Hearts, not over their numerous Cities, or larger Prefectures or Provinces. As to the Persons of the Jews, it's plain they were Rebels against him ; they were, by the Gift of his Father, the first, and more peculiar Lot of his Inheritance ; yet, when he came to them, they hated him ; *they would not have this Man to reign over them* ; they persecuted

persecuted him, and, by *Roman Hands*, scandalously murder'd him: Had his Dominion over them, been *Temporal*, such was his Power, that he could have inspir'd the poor dejected *Twelve*, who follow'd him trembling, with Courage and Force enough to have cut thousands of his Enemies to pieces; his Servants would then have fought for him, that he should not have been deliver'd to his Rebels; but they not using, and he not permitting, any such forcible Defence of himself, the Truth of his Answer to Pilate was indisputable, and *his Kingdom was not of this World*.

But earthly Subjects owe such Defence to their earthly Sovereigns; and this appears, as I observ'd before, from the very *Nature of Government*; it's the same, as to the Reason of the Thing, be the Kind of Government what it will; but we are at present only concern'd with that of *Kings*, the Species referr'd to in the Text. Now, the *Business of a King*, according to what the *Israelites* pretended in their Resolution upon the Remonstrances of *Samuel*, was, They would have a King, that *they also might be like all the Nations, and that their King might judge them, and go out before them, and fight their Battles*. Where, by the Way, we may observe, that *all the Nations, at that Time, had Kings over them*, for the same Ends and Purposes for which *Israel* desir'd one; and no History gives us any Account of any other Government in those Days, but that of Kings; nor of Men living in what some *Hobbits* call *a State of Nature*, a Figment so well baffled by his Grace the late *Arch-bishop of Canterbury*, and the ingenious Dr. *Eachard*, in which every Man was at his Liberty, and liv'd as savage Beasts do in the midst of Woods and Forests, and among the Crags of Rocks and Mountains. Now, where the *Israelites* say, they would have a King to judge them, they mean, they would have a King to do Justice among them, to put the Laws of God in due Execution, and to provide particularly for particular Emergencies, where the Laws of God were silent; as he was to be their Judge, so he was to act as he thought fit in *his own Person*, and to call what Causes he pleas'd before himself; and to appoint others, of Courage and Understanding, to receive the Complaints of his People, to relieve the Oppressed, to support and defend the Fatherless and Widows, to keep Men in Peace and Quietness; to take up, imprison, or condemn to Death, all kinds of *Malefactors*; and to avenge the Cause of God and the King, against all such as were disobedient. Now, all this Care for the Welfare of his *People*, must deserve the Return of abundance of Tenderness for the Safety of the *Prince's Person*. But such Care of the Prince would certainly promote the Happiness of the Subjects, in the free Enjoyment of themselves, in their proper Stations and Employments.

But the *King* whom these *Israelites* desir'd, was to be *like the Kings of other Nations, to go out before them*. Was this only that the Multitude might appear the more considerable, when a Person array'd in Purple, of a majestic Mien and Aspect, and who seem'd to

carry

carry something Great in all his Motions, walk'd before them ? No, those elder Ages were not so fond of Shadows. They took Notice, indeed, sometimes of a Countenance worthy of an Empire. Such was that of *Saul*, the first Monarch of *Israel*, whose noble Appearance could not but reconcile many to him, after God had call'd him to that Honour ; he was really a goodly Person, and might command a profound Respect from all who saw him. Such a one was *Jesse's eldest Son*, whose very Look spoke so powerfully for him, that when *Samuel* view'd him, he concluded that certainly the Anointed of the Lord was then before him. But the Prince who was desir'd to go out before *Israel*, was such a one as might be their Guide and Conductor on all Occasions ; such a one as might watch for them, forewarn them of all threat'ning Evils, face every Danger in the Head of them, and put them into such Order, that they might, with a reasonable Probability of Safety, resist any violent Aggressor ; he was to consult for them, and to turn their Thoughts and their Arms this Way or that Way, according as he saw Mischief approaching from any Quarter, and under the Prospect of several growing Dangers, to judge for them, which was first to be oppos'd, and which with the greatest Force and Application.

But as their Prince was to go out before them, as their Leader, so he was to fight their Battels. Not that the King alone, and by himself, was to fight whole Armies of Enemies, tho' sometimes particular Persons appear'd as Champions, to fight in behalf of all the rest ; as *Goliath* was the Champion of the *Philistines*, and in their Name defy'd all the Armies of *Israel* ; and *David* providentially became the Champion of *Israel*, accepting *Goliath's Challenge*, and, by killing him, brought assur'd Victory to the Side of *Israel* : Such were *Paris* and *Menelaus*, *Hector* and *Ajax*, among the *Greeks* and *Trojans*, and *Turnus* and *Eneas* between the *Trojans* and the *Latines* : But the Business of Kings, in Time of War, was, to levy Forces, to call their Subjects together to the Field, to have them train'd and exercis'd for Fight, to lead them against the Enemy, whether to break into his Country, or to prevent or repulse the Enemy breaking into his own. Kings were to chuse the Ground and Time for fighting, to give the Army proper Officers, and to commission them to manage such or such Bodies or Detachments, with a full Power to exercise Martial Discipline upon Cowards, Traytors, or Deserters. They us'd often to survey the Field, that they might be able to send Succours, if the Ground would allow it, to every declining Quarter ; and, upon Occasion, the Onset being order'd by them, to expose their own Lives to the utmost, and to lose them freely in Defence of their Subjects. In short, he whom *Israel* desir'd, was to be a King to command with an indisputable Authority, a General, to conduct, to model, and to marshal an Army with Art and Judgment, and to be a private Soldier, to draw his own Sword, and to fight either in the Head, or any other convenient Part of the Army.

Such

Such was *Joshua*, marching in the Head of *Israel*, when warring against the *Canaanites*; *Saul* in the Head of his Troops against the *Philistines*; *David* against the same; *Jeohoshaphat* against the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, and *Moabites*; *Zosias* against the *King of Egypt*. Such was *Alexander the Great*, *Julius Cæsar*, and several other Emperors of *Rome*; *Tamerlane the Tartar*, and his mighty Adversary *Bajazet the Turk*; *Gustavus Adolphus* of *Sweden*, and the present valiant *King of that incomparably loyal People*. Such were our own *Richards*, *Edwards*, *Henrys*, the Honours of the Royal Character, and the Glories of their Times. These Things were what all Nations, in former Ages, expected from their Kings.

But now, can we imagine that any one *King* alone, and by himself, could make all his Subjects submit to Law and Justice? Could he alone rescue the Prey out of the Jaws of covetous and rapacious *Bears*, and *Wolves*, and *Tygers*? Could he alone make every one yield to the most reasonable Decisions in the World? Could he alone subdue Rebels, repulse Invaders, raise and command mighty Armies, without inferior Officers? Or resist Invaders, or dethrone Usurpers, without the Assistance of any Soldiers or Subalterns? No Man can believe these Things, or be so silly as to expect them. Their own domestick Servants and Relations, were the first command'd Bodies and Guards of Princes, as in the Case of *Abraham*, when he went against *Chedorlaomer* and his Confederates: The *Children of Great Men* were such, where they were numerous, their own Safety being wrapp'd up in that of their *Fathers*; several of their People us'd to offer themselves as *Guards*, and Princes oft chose *Guards* for themselves, from among the People, to attend upon them and their Sons, as *Saul* did, and *Samuel* had told the *Israelites*, their Kings would and must do. These were ready to go whither, and upon what Message soever they were sent: They were to put the King's Commands in Execution, as we see *David's Servants* did in the Case of the *Amalekite*, who pretended to have kill'd *Saul*; and *Solomon's* did in the Cases of *Joab*, *Shimei*, and *Adonijah*. These render'd the Throne august and awful, struck a Terror upon Criminals, and were ready to prevent any Violence which a *Rebel* or *Traytor* might offer to the King's Person at unawares, and gave them Opportunity, in a Time of Danger, to save themselves. These were a proper Foundation of an Army; and being generally well treated by their Sovereigns, were always ready to spend their Lives in their Defence and Service. These went in and out with their Kings, and were Guards to inferior *Magistrates*, and *Ministers of Justice*, that they might execute their Offices safely; and these, among others, us'd to wait upon their Masters to the Field, to defend them against *Traytors* and *Rebels at Home*, and against *Encroachers*, *Invaders*, and *Usurpers*, upon his own or his Subjects Rights and Liberties from abroad.

Those must be very bad Princes indeed, or must reign but a very short Time, from whose Management the Publick reaps no manner

manner of Good at all; but if any in their publick Capacities reap any Benefit from the Government, they'll presently conclude, that a great deal of their own Happiness depends upon the Safety and Felicity of such a Prince. One who is Heir to a fair Estate, may squander it away very foolishly, yet many good Men may get considerably by his Profuseness; and it is not concluded presently, that such a Spend-thrift ought to be immediately stripp'd of all he has, unless some other Person can be produc'd, who has a better Right to it than he. But no Prince, in these Days, can spend his Kingdom as a Prodigal spends his Estate; he may waste the Revenues of it lavishly enough, but, by himself, he can't mortgage nor sell it: He may keep himself always poor, while he's in full Possession of the Power and Dignity, and the Revenue belonging to it; but he can never want what's necessary, or what may support his Honour in a commendable Way; and both *the Prince and the Country* may subsist without Excesses. But in the Midst of the wildest Extravagancies, the Money may only circulate the quicker among the Subjects; and while they enjoy Peace at Home, and with their Neighbours, and the Prince's Profuseness promotes Trade and Commerce, whosoever shall go about to insult him from Abroad, or give him Disturbance, or rebel against him at Home, every Subject ought to be ready to assist him, every Soldier ought to be ready to fight for him, and defend him.

Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, was a mighty Warrior, an ambitious, cruel, and tyrannical Conqueror; he was one of those uncontrollable Monarchs, whose Will was the Law of his Subjects, and who never shew'd himself much inclin'd to forgive any who offended him: He had dealt more severely with the Jews, than any, burning their capital City, and with it the glorious Temple of the most high God: He had desolated and depopulated their whole Country, had carry'd all such Persons and Families into a lamentable Captivity, who were any Way considerable, so that a greater Enemy they could not have; yet, while they were in that captive State, God does not, by his Prophet, bid them stand up against their Conqueror, endeavour to embroil his Government, or to shake off his Fetters; no, but build ye Houses, says he, and dwell in them, and plant Gardens, and eat the Fruit of them; take ye Wives, and beget Sons and Daughters, and take Wives for your Sons, and give your Daughters unto Husbands, that they may have Sons and Daughters, that ye may be increas'd there, and not diminish'd. By these Ways the Jews were to contribute to the Wealth, the Strength, and the Authority of the King of Babylon, as much as they could desire to increase their own Numbers; and they were not to do this only, but seek ye the Peace of that City, says God, whether I have caus'd you to be carry'd away captive, and pray unto the Lord for it, for in Jerem. 29.7. the Peace thereof ye shall have Peace. After all which, if their Conqueror call'd out any of the Jews to attend him in the Field, they'd certainly stand by him among the most faithful

of his Subjects, as we see *Daniel* and his *three Friends*, Persons of the highest Rank among the Captives, serv'd him faithfully and wisely, above all others, in the Stations he had plac'd them in.

But if the *Jews*, who had been all along treated as *Enemies* and *Slaves*, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and who were now *Captives*, were oblig'd to be so faithful to the *Interests* of their *Conqueror* and *Oppressor*, how much more are they oblig'd to it, who *naturally*, or *voluntarily*, live under the *Government* of a *lawful Prince*; a Prince who, if he be not the best of all others, is yet guilty of as few *Errors* in the *Management* of his *People*, as others are in the *Conduct* of their *private Families*? Every *Man* ought to hold the *Life* and *Ease* of his *Prince*, as dear as the *Life* of his own *Father*, or of the best and most powerful *Friend* he has in the *World*, since his *Prince* is the best *Friend* of the whole *Nation*, and the *Father* of his *Country*. *Saul* was none of the best of *Kings*,

yet *David*, in his *Lamentation* over him, charges
 2 Sam. 1. 24. *the Daughter of Israel*, to weep over *Saul*, who clothed them in *Scarlet*, with other *Delights*, and who put *Ornaments of Gold* upon their *Apparel*. And, after the Downfall of *Absalom*, when all the *Tribes of Israel* were at *Strife* to bring *David* home, they, in *grateful Terms*, commemorate the great *Things David* had done for them, tho' they had, in their *Fondness of Change and Novelty*, forgotten them strangely before.

The *King*, say they, sav'd us out of the *Hand* of our
 2 Sam. 19. 9. *Enemies*, and he deliver'd us from the *Philistines*, and now he is fled out of the *Land*, for *Absalom*, and *Absalom*, whom we anointed over us, is dead in *Battel*: Now therefore, why speak ye not a *Word* of bringing the *King Home*? And so we see, that tho' the *Weakness* of *Rehoboam*, in following the *Counsel* of young *Men*, rather than that of those of more *Wisdom* and *Experience*, fighted *ten Tribes* into *Rebellion* against *God* and their *King*; yet *Rehoboam* had the populous *Tribes* of *Judah* and *Benjamin* ready to assert his *Cause*, and to fight for him, had not *God* himself countermanded their forward *Loyalty*; and tho' *Jeroboam*, under *Pretence* of maintaining *Liberty* and *Property*, had betray'd the *revolting Tribes* into nothing but *Apostacy and Idolatry*, and had made them *Enemies* to their *God* and their *King* at the same *Time*, yet the *Love* of that mere *Shadow* they had grasp'd at, made them throw away 500000 *Lives* in one *Battel*, to support their *Idol*. So *Athaliah* too had her *Creatures* ready to defend her, tho' there was nothing but the bare *Appearance* of *Government* to recommend her to the *People*. And tho' *Zedekiah* was one of those who never troubled himself about *pleasing God*, and was wonderfully mistaken in his *Measures*, if he really sought the *Welfare* of his *Country*; yet considerable *Numbers* were ready to die with him, before they would give him up into the *Hands* of conquering *Nebuchadnezzar*. *Lawful Princes* always find some *Friends* and *Servants*,

who

who will fight for them, and look upon Death it self as highly meritorious in their Quarrel.

All Mankind agree together in this Principle, and set the highest Value Words can express upon the Person and Life of their *rightful Sovereign*. If *God*, by himself, has immediately set him over them, as in the Case of *Saul*; none but the *Sons of Belial* can reject him whom *God* has chosen. If *Men* have pitch'd upon such or such a *Man* to be their *King*, they directly condemn themselves, and their own *Follies*, if they quickly grow weary of their own *Choice*. If their *King*, *in Person*, fights their *Battels*, they can scarce desire more; (for such an *Action* shews, that he values their *Welfare* and *Interests* more than his own *Life*.) *People* are very apt to undervalue such as are afraid, or unwilling to adventure their *Persons* at the Head of their *Troops*; if they find them forward to do it, they are the more tender of their *Persons*, and are the more careful for their *Safety*, who take no *Care* of themselves. Never was any *Man* more daring, in the publick *Cause*, than *David*, when either a *private Person*, a *subordinate Officer*, or a *King*; *God* had *taught his Hands to War*, and *his Fingers to Fight*, and he again had brought up a great Number of excellent *Commanders in War*, and *Counsellors in Peace*; but *David* was no more *Immortal*, or *Invulnerable*, than other *Men*. This the *People*, who had so often seen his *heroick Valour*, and *reap'd the Fruits of it*, consider'd, when he told them, that he would go out with them to the *Battel against Absalom*; they were aware that the *Malice* of an *unnatural Rebel* might go very far, and that it had been *advis'd* by *Achitophel*, that *David* alone should be pur-su'd, surpriz'd, and kill'd; that therefore it might reasonably be fear'd, that the *Rebels* would level all their *Spite* against the *Person of the King*; the *People* therefore, with one *Consent*, answer his *Officer*, *Thou shalt not go forth*, 2 Sam. 18. for if we flee away, they will not care for us; neither 2, 3. if all of us should die, will they care for us; but thou art worth ten thousand of us; therefore now it is better for thee to succour us out of the *City*. And after this, when in a *Battel against the Philistines*, *David* wax'd faint, and *Issibi Beneb*, a *gigantick Man* of the *Philistines*, being girt with a *new Sword*, thought, at that *Advantage* to have kill'd him, *Abishai*, the *Son of Zerviah*, succour'd his *Master*, and kill'd the *Philistine*; and all *David's Servants* kindly, though boldly, concurr'd in that *Resolution*, *Thou shalt no more go forth with us to the Battel*, that thou quench not the *Light of Israel*. Here *Valour*, well known, was justly excus'd, and every good *Servant* of the *King of Israel*, was ready to sacrifice his own *Life*, to preserve that of his *Sovereign*. The *King*, indeed, is the *Light of his People*, when he falls, the *People*, like poor blind *Creatures*, go on poring in the *Dark*, and it's generally a long *Time* before they come to a *regular Settlement*; where the *King is not elective*, the *natural Heir reigns*, immediately upon the *De-*

mise of his Predecessor, without any Scruple, Difficulty, or Satisfaction.

What Value other Nations, who had less Light than the Tribes of Israel, to direct them in their Duty to God, or Man, had for the Person of their Kings, is apparent by those Descriptions of a King, which they give us, viz. that *he is a King who can do what he pleases, without Controul*; that *he's above every Body, but no Body above him*; that *he's the Author of Laws, but himself above the coercive Power of any Laws, but those of God and Reason*; that *every Subject is accountable to him, but he accountable to none*; that *the King is God's Image, Vice-Gent, and Representative*; to which Christians add, that *he is the highest Power, whom none of his Subjects can forcibly resist, without incurring Damnation*; that *he's one of those Majestick Creatures, against whom there's no rising up, &c.* And, though in all Nations, under Heaven, there have, at one Time or other, been *Plots, Treasons, Insurrections, and Rebellions*, against their Princes, yet, upon the Resettlement of publick Affairs, the Authors of such Crimes have been took'd on, and treated, as *Traytors and Rebels* ought to be, unless the extraordinary *Clemency of the lawful Prince*, has pass'd some *Act of Grace* for their Indemnity. And though God in his Displeasure with a sinful Nation, may suffer wicked Men, and such as are of unquiet and factious Minds, to prevail for a while, as in the cruel *Usurpation of Athaliah*; yet he generally brings Matters about again, and then, as *Jotham, the lawful Son of Gideon, wif'd to Abimelech, his bastard Brother, and the Men of Shechem, who set up Abimelech for their King, God may let Fire come out from Abimelech, and devour the Men of Shechem, and the House of Millo; and Fire come out from Shechem, and the House of Millo, and devour Abimelech*;

for nothing's more usual than for wise Princes to hate the Traytor, though they may like the Effects of the Treason well enough.

Several Soldiers in a Battel have shewn the Respect they had to their Prince's Safety, by casting themselves in a Ring about him, and suffering themselves to be cut to Pieces, only to save him; as a Body of Janisaries did about *Bajazet the Turk*, when he had, in a manner, lost the Field to the victorious *Tamerlane*. Sometimes particular Persons have thrown themselves between their Prince and a violent Blow aim'd at him, and have fall'n upon the Bed of Honour in his Defence. Again, sometimes the Danger of the Prince's Person, in a Battel, has so rous'd the Courage of his Soldiers, as, by rescuing him, at the same Time they have snatch'd Victory from the before-prevailing Adversary; so the politick Report of *Gustavus* being taken Prisoner, by the Germans, when he was really kill'd, at the Battel of *Lutzen*, fir'd the *Swedes* with so much Fury, that, to rescue him, they bravely drove the *German* Army out of the Field. This personal Esteem for their Princes has made such extraordinary Rejoycings, both

among

among the *Military Men* and the *Commonalty*, when they have seen them return in Safety Home, from the infinite Hazards of a bloody War; hence so many Prayers put up, both by *Heathens* and *Christians*, for the Security of the Persons of their warlike Monarchs; hence those numerous *deprecatory Acclamations* of the *Roman Senate and Armies*, for their Emperors, of which *Vopiscus* gives us a remarkable Instance, upon the Choice of *Probus*, and *Lampridius*, another, of their Acclamations to *Macrinus*, upon his presenting his young Son *Diadumenus* to them, under the belov'd Name of *Antoninus*. But thus it always will, and ought to be; *earthly Monarchs* will have their *earthly Servants* always ready, according to Duty, to fight for them, that they may not be deliver'd into the Hands of their Enemies; all such Servants as fail in this Duty, merit not the Characters of Honour, nor Title of Faithful, nor the Name of Christians. What then will belong to the Authors and Contrivers of that execrable Murder, committed this fatal Day upon the sacred Person of *Charles the First*, of blessed Memory, the best of Men, and the best of Princes, who ever wore the *British Crown*; the horrid Guilt of such Persons, no Thoughts can conceive, no Words express. That we may view this hellish Crime in its proper Colours, since it's impossible to remove it out of Sight, while *Treason, Rebellion, and Murder*, are Sins; and *Christianity*, as reform'd from the Errors of *Rome*, is the Religion publickly profess'd in these Kingdoms, we must make these several Inquiries,

1. Whether *Charles the First*, of pious Memory, was not the lawful King, Monarch, Sovereign, and Emperor of these Nations, according to our true, ancient, and fundamental Laws? By these several Titles of King, Monarch, Sovereign, and Emperor, the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom know their lawful supremest Governor. Now, they were none but *Papists*, who, upon the Demise of that glorious Queen *Elizabeth*, ever pretended to question the Right of *James the First*, the only Son of *Mary Queen of Scotland*, and Dowager of France, sole Daughter, and undoubted Heir of *Margaret, eldest Daughter of our Henry the Seventh*; who, by marrying *Elizabeth, Heiress of the House of York*, put an End to the long and bloody Contest between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, and, consequently, upon the Failure of the Heirs of *Henry the Eight*, was nearest related to the Crown of England; which Right and Relation, upon her Death, descended to her only Son and Heir *James the First*. Whatever Objections some Popish Factors laid against him, and which some of the Scum of the rational World have, with unparalleled Impudence, reviv'd in these Days, yet we have no Exception to the Justice of the first Parliament, call'd in the Reign of that King, in their most joyful and loyal Recognition of the immediate lawful and undoubted Succession, Descent, and Right of the Crown upon him; where, after several humble and respectful Expressions of their Loyalty, they add, 'We do beseech your most ex-

cellent Majesty, that as a Memorial to all Posterities, among the Records of your High Court of Parliament, for ever to endure, of our Loyalty and Obedience, and humble and hearty Affection; it may be publish'd and declar'd in this High Court of Parliament, and enacted by the Authority of the same, that we, being bounden thereto, both by the Laws of God and Man, do recognize and acknowledge, and hereby express our unspeakable Joys, that immediately upon the Dissolution and Decease of *Elizabeth, late Queen of England*, the Imperial Crown of the Realm of *England*, and of all the Kingdoms, Dominions, and Rights belonging to the same, did, by inherent Birth-Right, and lawful and undoubted Succession, descend and come to your most excellent Majesty, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully, next, and sole Heir, of the Blood Royal of this Realm, as is abovesaid; and that, by the Goodness of God Almighty, and lawful Right of Descent, under one Imperial Crown, your Majesty is, of the Realms and Kingdoms of *Great Britain, France, and Ireland*, themost potent and mighty King; and to your Protection we most humbly and faithfully do submit and oblige our selves, our Heirs and Posterities for ever, even until the very last Drop of our Blood be spent, &c. This may serve to clear the Right of *James the First* to the Crown of these Kingdoms; and whether *Charles the First*, of pious Memory, were not the Son and Heir of *James the First*, and *Anne of Denmark*, I don't remember that ever any Body call'd in Question.

2. *Charles the First* being his Father's true and only Heir to all his Kingdoms, according to the Import of the fore-cited Recognition; our next Enquiry will be, Whether every Person, of what Sex or Age soever, born within his Realms and Dominions, were not his Subjects naturally, and by Birth; and, consequently, whether by opposing, resisting, and rebelling against him, which the Law allows in no Case whatsoever, they did not immediately become *Traytors and Rebels*? As Birth gives me, or any other Person, a Right to my, or his Father's Inheritance, or any Part of it; so it gives me a Right to the Protection of the same Government, by the Laws of which, as well as by the Laws of *Nature and Nations*, I enjoy such a Right; but no Man can pretend to the Protection of the Government, but such as own their Subjection to the *lawful King*, or *supream Governor*, under whom he lives. Hence it was, that in the Time of *Ropery*, when the *Clergy* of this Nation pretended to an Exemption from the coercive Power of the *Temporal Laws* of this Kingdom, as immediately depending only on the Court of *Rome*, when the King could manage them by no other Means, he put them *out of the Protection of his Laws*, sioe they would not obey them, and by that Means let loose the *whole Body of the Larty upon them*: And this really was but Justice; and every one who engages in Insurrections and *Rebellions* against his law-
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ful Prince, puts himself out of his Prince's Protection, and is properly an *Outlaw*, tho' he be not su'd to an *Outlawry*. Our Parliaments of old consisted only of the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, and such as held Lands of the King by *Knights Service*, who might perhaps not be thought so equal a *Representative of the Commonalty*, as they would have wish'd for; tho' all the Lands of the Kingdom were then, and still are, held of the King, as Lord in Chief, by one Tenure or another; and every one who had Tenants under himself, as he was under the King, those Tenants might reasonably suppose, that their Lords would take Care of their Good, their own being so v-e-y much concern'd in it. But *Burgesses for Boroughs and Corporations*, and *Knights for Shires*, who were *purely Commoners* themselves, were, by the Policy of our Kings, admitted into the *Great Council of the Nation*; and it was put into the Power of the *substantial Freeholders* (for such were the *forty Shillings Men* in those Days) to give their Votes freely for such as they thought fit to represent themselves in that Great Assembly; then all those *Recognitions* and *Acknowledgments of Subjection, Homage, Allegiance, Fealty, &c.* which were made by the *Commons Representatives*, were justly look'd upon and taken as the *Acts and Deeds* of the whole Commons of these Realms. Hence the Laws consented to, or petition'd for by their Representatives, tho' the King's Will alone makes them *Laws*, and those *his own Laws* too, are yet said to be *such Laws as the Commons of the Nation have chosen or desir'd*.

In these Laws the *Lords and Commons* always acknowledge themselves the King's *loyal, faithful, humble, and obedient Subjects*; and that the lawful Possessor of the Throne, is their sole, true, and rightful Sovereign; which Acknowledgments, if they be true, then, as the Prince owes all them *his Protection* who acknowledge his Right, so far as he can give it them, so they again owe him *their Obedience and Assistance*, to make good his own Obligations: They are in the Eyes of the Law so *truly* the Subjects of the *rightful King*, that they are no sooner born into the World, than they are under the same Obligations their Fathers were before; and so as they grow up to Years of Discretion, they are liable to the Lashes of the King's Laws, and are bound to perform all the Duties of faithful Subjects, and to obey their Sovereign, even where the Authority of their *natural Fathers* ceases, or where it interferes with that of the *lawful Prince*. Being under such *natural Obligations*, their occasional Removal into *foreign Countries* will not excuse them for any Fault they have there committed against their *natural Lord*; they can't so far transfer their *Allegiance* from their *own* to a *Foreigner*, by any Contract whatever, but that if any Action of theirs in another Country comes up to the Nature of *Treason* against their *own Sovereign*, in whose Service soever they are, the Law against *Traytors* will pass upon them, when taken, as was determin'd by the *Judges* in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time in the Case of *Dr. Story*. If then

then taking Arms against a rightful Sovereign, makes him who lives under such a Sovereign's Protection, a Rebel and a Traitor, we know of nothing that can change the Nature of such a Crime. *Counsels, Designs, Plots against a lawful Government, are treasonable*; but those who make Use of Force and Arms against it, these who excite Strangers to Arms, or to invade, or any Way endeavour the Hurt or Ruin of their natural Sovereign or Country, are, in the Eye of our Law, *Traytors and Rebels*. But,

3. It's next worth our while to enquire whether all the Subjects of Charles the First, whether *Lords Spiritual or Temporal, or the Commons*, as the three Estates of this Realm in Parliament assembled, and all Officers, whether *Spiritual, Civil, or Military*, had not taken the *Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy* to him, and to his lawful Heirs and Successors, *exclusively of all other Persons whosoever*? This *Oath*, in an Age when Oaths were more consider'd, both by the *Takers and Imposers* of them, than they are at present, was a *Test*, not of a *Papist's Religion*, but of his *Loyalty*. In the Reign of Q. Elizabeth, that *Papist* who would declare, that *in Case of an Invasion of this Nation by the Bishop of Rome, or his Procurement, he'd stand by the Queen, tho' excommunicated by the Pope, against him and his Adherents*, was frequently admitted to the *Council Table*, and always held his *Seat in Parliament*. The *Powder Treason* gave an Occasion to that Alteration made in the *Oath*, in the Reign of James the First; several *Papists*, who from their Hearts detested that devilish Contrivance, took the *Oath*, as so modell'd, and still sat in the *House of Peers*; and we don't meet with any extraordinary Inconveniences arising from that Allowance. But no Man of Honour or Conscience could take this *Oath*, but he look'd upon it as such a Tie upon his Conscience, that he could never indulge himself in a Liberty to break it. This *Oath* requir'd nothing of them but what they understood, but what was *agreeable to Scripture, Antiquity, and Reason*, to what the very *Heathen* look'd upon as a *real Truth*, and such a one as was indispensibly necessary to the Security of any Government whatsoever; the contrary Notion really dethroning Kings, and making them as much Subjects to a foreign Power, and as obnoxious to the capricious Humours of their own Subjects, as the most abject of their own Vassals could really be to them.

Now the Import of that *Oath* to be taken by every Member of Parliament, before they could act there, was this: — *I A. B. do utterly testify and declare in my Conscience, that the King's or Queen's Highness is the only supremal Governor of this Realm, and of all other his or her Highnesses Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Things, or Causes, as Temporal; and that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preeminence, or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Temporal, within this Realm: And therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign Jurisdictions*,

gions, Powers, Superiorities, and Authorities, and do promise, that from henceforth I shall bear Faith and true Allegiance to the King's Highness, his Heirs and Successors, and to my Power shall assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Privileges, Preeminences, and Authorities, granted and belonging to the King's Highness, his Heirs and Successors, or united and annex'd to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. So help me God, and the Contents of this Book. — Queen Elisabeth indeed had so good an Opinion of the Honour of the Peers, that she would not lay the Burden of a formal Oath upon them. The Homage perform'd by them at the Time of their being call'd up to the House of Lords, and that perform'd to every new Prince at his Coronation, and the near Dependance of Men of Honour upon the King, who is the Fountain of Honour, might seem, with Respect to them, to supersede the Ceremony; but if it were so still, the Obligation of the Peers to be faithful to the Throne, is every whit as strong, as if they were oblig'd by a thousand Oaths. It has been the Practice of all Governments too, when they have rais'd any Person to an Office in Church or State, or in their Armies, to require of them an Oath of Fidelity: For it's no superfluous Care, to endeavour to join Honour and Conscience together, to oblige Men in Trust to be faithful to their Masters. Only Bishops and Presbyters, in the primitive Times, were suppos'd so unlikely to be false to their Sovereigns, by Reason of the known Obligations of their holy Profession, that we don't find any Oaths, of that Nature, ever put upon them. For in those Days, it was never heard of, that a Christian Bishop should preach up the Doctrine of Resistance against their lawful Governours, or that it was meritorious to oppose them by Force; a Gnostic, or a Circumcellion, might adventure upon such Doctrines, or might appear among a Party of Rebels, or encourage a foreign Invader, to the Ruin of his native Country; but Christian Bishops, or Presbyters, had not then so learn'd Christ. As they were the Substitutes of him who was the Prince of Peace, so it was their Busines to promote Peace, and to bring even Infidels into Love with that Quietness and Serenity which Christ's Religion introduc'd. Tho' barbarously and unjustly persecuted, they never encourag'd their People so much as to stand up in their own Defence; tho' I am ready to believe Tertullian, telling us, that the bare Retiring of the Christians out of the Roman Dominions, was enough to depopulate the Empire, than either profess'd Papists, or Papists in Masquerade, who would perswade us, that the Christians sate down quietly under persecuting Kings and Emperors, only because they wanted Strength and Numbers to oppose them. Nay, they serv'd as Soldiers under those very Emperors who were continually persecuting their Brethren and themselves; as the Thundering Legion under Marcus Antoninus, the Theban under Maximinian, the much greater Part of the Army under Julian the Apostate. Nor would the orthodox Bishops move any of their Friends to resist the Attempts of Constantius or Valens, tho' they were such notorious Encouragers

of Arrianism, and the barbarous Cruelties of those inhumane Hereticks upon the Professors of the Nicene Faith.

We cannot now but conclude, that Honour in the Peerage, with Conscience, and Conscience in the Commons, with a Share of good Sense, must have had some Influences on all in the Days of King Charles the Martyr; and that all those who belong'd to the Civil List, and all such as were in any Command in his Armies, were bound, as far as Men could be, to be true to their Sovereign, not to enter into any Plots or Conspiracies against him, or his Heirs, themselves, nor to conceal any mischievous Designs of others against him, or any of his Royal Offspring, which they might by any Means come to the Knowledge of. They could not pretend to any Coordinacy with him who was their Sovereign, while they were his humble, his loyal, and his faithful Subjects, while they were but the Three Estates, the constituent Members of the Parliamentary Body, of which He only was the Head: They own'd his Supremacy in all Causes, and over all Persons whatsoever: If he was the Supream, none could pretend to rival him, but the very Pretence must make them Traytors; if he was not the Supream, then they were guilty of the most treacherous Flattery in the World, when they, calling God himself to witness the Truth of what they declar'd, own'd him to be the only supream Governor, under God, of these Realms, not dependent upon any other Prince or State, not obnoxious to their Censures or Sentences of Condemnation, much less to his own Subjects, who, having sworn unconditional Fidelity to him, (for they had sworn to him, before the Coronation-Oath, or any other, had been taken by the Prince to the People) must of Necessity be guilty of damnable Perjury, if they took up Arms against him, in the Sight of that God whom they call'd to witness the Honesty and Sincerity of their present Intentions; for tho' some modern Factionists have us'd us to the Talk of the Sovereignty of these Nations being in King, Lords, and Commons, yet the standing Laws of these Kingdoms speak no such Language; and nothing certainly can appear more absurd or ridiculous, than to see such as are coordinate with the Monarch, another pretty Absurdity too, to stile him their Great, their Dread, their Mighty Sovereign, only to delude the People with an Opinion, that he is really so, and themselves his humble and loyal Subjects and Servants; a Complement which I don't remember that ever any King of England paid to the two Houses of Parliament, or that he call'd them his Sovereign, or himself their Subject, or that any King ever petition'd any one of the Three Estates, or all of them together, which was formerly the Stile of all Parliamentary Acts, viz. That such a Bill, with his most gracious Majesty's Consent, might pass into a Law, which is the Stile of the *Act of Recognition* before mention'd, and of that for keeping a solemn Fast on this Day. But the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy not only extends to the Person of the rightful King in Possession, but to his lawful

lawful Heirs and Successors, exclusive of all others; and so any Opposition made to the reigning King, or to his Queen, or to his eldest Son, the Heir apparent of his Crown and Dignity, or any Thing done to the Prejudice or Disherison of the King, or his next Heir, is *High Treason*, by the 25th of Edw. III, in which, at the Prayer of his People, and that they might be no more at Uncertainty in the Matter, the King himself authoritatively determin'd what should be *Treason*, and what prosecuted as *Treason* for the Time to come. A Statute still in full Force, but almost forgotten. But,

4. Since all Members of both Houses of Parliament had taken that Oath to Charles the 1st, of pious Memory, before ever they could act as belonging to any of the *Three Estates* in Parliament, in the Year 41, and yet two of those very *three Estates*, notwithstanding the sacred Obligation of their Oaths, did take up Arms against him, whom they had before God acknowledg'd their rightful and lawful Sovereign, prosecuted him by an open, bloody, and unnatural War in the Field, and there try'd by any Means to destroy his sacred Person, and at length, by Divine Permission, and as a dreadful Punishment for our great and grievous Sins, got the better in the War, took his Royal Person Prisoner, drove his three Sons out of their Father's Kingdom, to which each of them in his Turn had an Hereditary Right, into a foreign Country to get their Bread, and save their Lives, and then, with an execrable and hellish Impudence, murder'd him, in open Day, before the Gates of his own Palace; which accursed Management laid the Foundation of all those Calamities which these Nations ever since have felt, and still do feel. Since the *Temporal Lords and Commons of that Parliamentary Assembly*, or rather the malignant Majority of them, have done all these Things, they either were desperately perjur'd before God and against their own Souls, or else they must have found out some Person, or some secret Method, by which they might be releas'd from the Obligation of any such solemn Oaths, tho' never so much in their own Power, never so just, customary, or lawful. We grant, that when any Man, either for Fear or Interest, takes any Oath unlawful either in its Matter or in its Manner, to keep or observe such an Oath, would be worse than the taking of it. And the best Satisfaction he who has taken such an Oath can make to God or his own Soul, is heartily to repent of his Sin, and carefully to renounce all manner of Obligation from it. Such was the Case of them who took that *infamous Covenant* in 1645. The Design of that *Covenant* was not to make good any of those Ends pretended in it; but the Rebels, finding themselves worsted every where by their excellent Prince, and conscious of their own Demerits from the Hands of their injur'd Sovereign, resolv'd to pawn their own Souls, and, if they could, the Souls of the whole Nation to the Devil, to bring in the Scots to their Assistance against him; which having effected, to the Ruin of the King's

Affairs, they quickly grew equally weary of the Scots *themselves, and of their Covenant*, and afterwards under the Conduct of their Darling *Cromwel*, paid them heartily for the great Service they had done them in that monstrous Rebellion.

But those who drew in the *Scots* by this Artifice, had sworn *Fidelity to the King*, and had acknowledg'd his Supremacy before. They had made Profession of the utmost Loyalty, and that they had no Design but to make him the *richest, the greatest, and the most glorious King*, that these Nations had ever enjoy'd; and when they had done all this, they then rebell'd against him, persecuted him, murder'd him. The King, in his last Visit to *Scotland*, had granted them so many Favours, that even they acknowledg'd that he had left them a contented People. They promis'd and engag'd, that they'd never again oppose so gracious a Master, upon any Account whatsoever; and the Earl of *Leven* in particular, had imprecated the heaviest of God's Judgments upon himself, if he ever bore Arms against him more: But for all this, O the Loyalty and Veracity of tender Consciences! the *Scots* ingratefully took up the Arms of Rebellion again, ruin'd their gracious King and Benefactor, and *Leven* himself lead them to the War. It's worth our Enquiry then, *Who they were that set these Men free from all their Oaths and Obligations*. Not an Agent from *Rome*, I hope. No sure, *Popery*, or the Word *Popery*, with which they har'd the abus'd Multitude out of their Wits, and made them run head-long upon *God*, even upon his *Neck*, and upon the thick *Busses* of his *Bucklers*. Alas! they had no Need of *Nuncio's from Rome*; but they had a Crew of temporising Preachers; Men who brought down their Divinity to the Wickedness of the Times; who made it their Busines to blow the Trumpet of Rebellion, and to halloo a *Pack of mad Dogs* upon their Sovereign; Men who call'd themselves the *purest of Protestants*, who had taken all the *securing Oaths* then requir'd by the Government; but yet they were Men, who casting off all the *Admonitions of Honesty and Conscience*, whether as *Priests* or *Subjects*, broke their Oaths themselves, and then discharg'd all the *fiery, malignant, revengeful Spirits*, in both Houses of Parliament, from their Oaths, all the *Commonalty* of this Kingdom from the Doctrines of the *Reform'd Religion*, in which they had been brought up; and while they themselves directed and persuad'd the commanding Rebels to strike the *Basilic Vein*, and told them, that *Peace between Heaven and Hell was as likely to be procur'd*, as between the *King and them*, they prevail'd with the unthinking Populace to receive all the Accusations their Malice had laid against the King with an *implicit Faith*; they so brought them to flock to the Standard of Rebellion, 'till they had hunted the *Anointed of the Lord* into their *Nets*, under whose *Shadow* all good Men hop'd they might have liv'd in *Peace*. The *Scots* too had their *canting Preachers*, who could assil them of a thousand Oaths for the Sake of their abominable *Covenant*; as if adding *Sin* to *Sin*

Sin were the best Way of atoning Heaven for Sins already committed; and a *covenanting Hero* could defy all the imprecated Plagues of Heaven, rather than not appear, as they then usually express'd it, *in helping the Lord against the Mighty*. Their Teachers were then in the same Strain with the Whirlegigs of these Times, and durst print too what they preach'd, when they advis'd those who had no Swords to draw against their Sovereign, to sell their Coats, and buy some. Such Men could absolve the Infantry of *Essex's* broken Army in the *West* from that Engagement they had made, not to bear Arms against his Majesty for a Year, after he had given them their Lives and Liberties, and could incite them to fight so much the more furiously in a wicked Cause, as they had been fortunate Partakers of their compassionate Sovereign's unmerited Mercy. These were no *Roman*, but apostatising *British Preachers*, who having no *Fear of God before their Eyes*, but being *infatigated by the Devil*, did what no *Roman Priest* had ever given them a *Pattern of*. *Rome* modestly reserv'd the Power of dispensing with the Oaths of Subjects to their Princes, to the *Pope* only: Every one of these assum'd that Papal Power to himself; and without any visible Remorse, pawn'd their own Souls for the eternal Safety of those, whom they sent as fast as they could head-long to the Devil. Woe be to those unhappy Wretches, who give up their Souls to the Conduct of such impious Miscreants! Woe to the World, because of Offences; but much more Woe to them, by whom such Offences come!

It has been a common Notion among Casuists, *That no Man can be releas'd from an Oath made to another and his Heirs, the Matter of which is lawful, and impos'd by lawful Authority, unless he be either under an absolute Impossibility of keeping it, or have a full and free Discharge from the Persons concern'd*. It's true, the Death of all the Parties concern'd, puts an End to the Obligation without any more ado: While the Parties live, they may hold the Person who has sworn to the Performance of his Promise, and he cannot go off from the Obligation of it, without scandalous Perjury. There may be a great many pretty Tricks put in Practice, to evade the Obligation of an Oath; but *God will not hold him guiltless that taketh his Name in vain*. That Oath which was taken by the *Members of Parliament* to Charles the First of *bleffed Memory*, they never were releas'd from by him: And if it were possible for any Number of Men whosoever, to make a true *British Parliament*, without a King to call them, or without the People to chuse them, they could not remit the Obligation of any such Oath; nor can a thousand Parliaments, how regularly soever constituted, either bribe, cajole, or threaten Almighty God so far, as that he should not call all those to a dreadful Account, who break their lawful Oaths in any Particular. If you in a just Cause have pass'd a solemn promissory Oath to me, and to my Son, in such or such a Case,

I may discharge you of the Obligation to my self, but I can't discharge you of that to my Son, and he may acquit you of your Engagement to himself, but not of that to me. But if I can discharge my self of such an Obligation, upon Pretence of any imaginary Necessity, there's an End of all Confidence between Man and Man, between Debtor and Creditor, between Princes and their Subjects, nay and between God and Man. I can with an ill Grace accuse my Prince with the Breach of his Coronation-Oath, when I my self am every Day breaking the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy; and as for the *Original Contract*, tho' the Supposition of it would do no Service here, it's as putrid a Popish Fable, as either that of Purgatory or Transubstantiation. I can allow that the Government, upon a just Occasion, may change the Form of these Oaths requir'd for its own Security; but though that Alteration may be of Force for the future, it can't change the Nature of Oaths already taken: But if, as the *Rebels pleaded in the great Rebellion*, and a great Number argue now-a-days, though we take never so many Oaths to any King, *rightful or an Usurper, good or bad*, we owe him Allegiance, as I observ'd before, no longer than he is able to protect us; as it's a fair Warning to wise Princes not to put too much Confidence in the solemn Engagements, much less in the flattering Addresses of their Subjects; since if this Resolution be good, our Saviour's Argument would be very much weaken'd; for he may have had an earthly Kingdom, and yet his Subjects, if the *Jews appear'd too strong for him*, might have lawfully enough refus'd to fight, to hinder his being deliver'd up to them. But our Master's Argument was certainly sound and good; therefore *Charles the Martyr* being the undoubted lawful Monarch of these Kingdoms, and all Persons born or naturaliz'd here, being his natural Subjects; and all Persons concern'd in Parliament, and all Officers Spiritual, Civil, or Military, having, in the Names of themselves, and the whole Body of the People of these Realms, taken the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy to him, and to his lawful Heirs and Successors, from which they never discharg'd them; and neither themselves, nor any other Authority, Spiritual or Temporal whatsoever, could release them, they ought to have fought for him against every Enemy; but they forgetting their Duty, and fighting against him, the

5th Enquiry, of Course, must be, *Whether all those who were his natural Subjects, or who had sworn to him, and to his Heirs, all Obedience and Fidelity, when they took up Arms against him, seiz'd the Power over the Militia, seiz'd his Lands, Revenues, Palaces, Forts, Castles, Ships, Arms, and Ammunition, and turn'd them all against him, hunted him as a Partridge in the Mountains, took him Prisoner, murder'd him, were not, in every single Action of this Nature, perjur'd Rebels and Traytors?* Now certainly, if Treason makes a Traytor, and rising in Arms against our lawful Sovereign, makes

makes a Rebel ; and the notorious Breach of an Oath, taken solemnly in the Presence of Almighty God, be Perjury ; all these Things meeting together in that Crew of bloody Miscreants, who brought about the shocking Tragedy of this fatal Day, they must be such. I am very far from charging all of the three Estates in Parliament with the Guilt of that sacred Blood which was this Day inhumanly spilt, tho' perhaps at first the Ears of most of them were too open to the Complaints and pretended Grievances of the discontented Faction, and were so unwarily ready to cut short the Prerogative of the Crown, that when they grew sensible of their Error, their Error was irrevocable, and their unhappy Master was no longer in a Capacity to protect himself or them. I know that many were from the Beginning, and in every Particular, that Prince's faithful Servants ; Servants not to be byass'd by any tumultuous or insolent Complaints, or froward Outcries ; and many who were hurry'd away at first with the popular Torrent, came afterwards to themselves, try'd resolutely to stem that raging Tide, which themselves had unfortunately help'd to raise above its usual Mark, and dy'd bravely at their gracious Master's Feet. But I do here, with every good Christian and honest *English* Subject, arraign the Memory of that ungodly *Fundo*, the stinking Rump of an once lawful Parliament ; or, as the Act for keeping this Fast authentically stiles them, --- 'A Party of wretched Men, 'desperately wicked, and harden'd in their Impieties ; who having plotted and contriv'd the Ruin and Destruction of this excellent Monarchy, and with it, of the true Reform'd Protestant Religion, which had been so long protected by it, and flourish'd under it, found it necessary, for the perfecting of their abominable Designs, to throw down all the Bulwarks and Fences of Law, and to subvert the very Being and Constitution of Parliaments, that so they might at last make their Way open to any farther Attempts upon the sacred Person of his Majesty himself, &c. What Methods these accurs'd Wretches pursu'd farther, the same Act of Parliament takes Notice of, and assures us, ' That they were as far from being true Protestants, as they were from being true Subjects. --- Notwithstanding all the Noise they made about the Danger of Popery, from whence *England* never was at a greater Distance, and arbitrary Power, which none endeavour'd to introduce but themselves, as we see common Pick-Pockets and Burglars are apt to cry *Thieves* first ; a Piece of Policy which the present Generation have not quite forgotten yet. Here then we see the most zealous of Protestants destroying all Religion ; Men of pretended tender Consciences breaking thro' all Oaths, and all, either Legal or Christian, Obligations ; the sober Party, as they call themselves, transgressing all the Limits of Sobriety and good Nature ; loyal and dutiful Subjects, raising Forces against the only, lawful, higher Powers ; Guides of Consciences, and Men entrusted

entrusted with the Cure of Souls, hurrying them down into eternal Woes ; and striving, even to an Agony, not for that Faith which was once deliver'd to the Saints, but to break all Faith with God and Man, and to enlarge the Boundaries of the Kingdom of Darknes.

We find then, in the most impartial Account of the Transactions of these Times, every particular Thing, which had been declar'd Treason by the 25th of *Edward the III^d*, committed by these traitorous Hypocrites ; War wag'd against the King himself, and him imprison'd and murder'd ; the Queen, his royal Consort, impeach'd of Treason, not for any real Mis-conduct of hers, but for her Adherence and Affection to her King and Husband ; the Heir apparent of the Crown forc'd to fly into foreign Countries for his Life, a Price set upon his Head, and, to own him, or to proclaim him King of his own natural Subjects, made High-Treason ; all who were but suspected to have any Regard to his Rights, taken up, imprison'd, sequestred, try'd by their hellish High-Courts of Justice, and cruelly executed, only for Performance of their Duties ; Privy-Councillors were impeach'd, try'd, attainted, murder'd for such Actions, as for which, no Law then in Being could touch one Hair of their Heads ; the King's Great Seal set aside, and one made by the Rebels themselves, and every Man compell'd to make use of that ; the Royal Mint seiz'd, and Money coin'd with their own Atchievement, and not the Image or Superscription of *Cæsar* ; not to mention the entire Demolition of the reform'd Epis-copal Church of *England*, and the Subversion of its Hierarchy, and one of his Majesty's greatest Estates in Parliament, High-Treason against the Son of God, the great King and Head of his Church, though not made Treason, by the fore-nam'd Act against the King of *England* ; Rebels then we have here fighting against their lawful Sovereign, Traytors plotting to destroy him and Monarchy together, seizing upon all his Regalities, and stripping him of his Children, and of his Life ; and perjur'd Rebels and Traitors we have, as having broken the Oath of God, which they had freely taken to their Sovereign without any Remorse or Hesitancy. Having then, from the Statute for observing this Day, found that the Managers of the great Rebellion, and of the execrable Murder of *Charles the Martyr*, were really and irrefragably perjur'd Traitors and Rebels, when we remeber how many brave, pious, and heroic Lives, beside that precious Life of the best of Kings, were lost in hot or cold Blood, in the Fury of that unnatural War, these Considerations will bring us, in the

6th Place, not so much to enquire, as positively to determine, that *all those who lost their Lives in the Field, in the Service of their rightful Prince ; and all those who suffer'd upon the same Account, by the Hand of the Executioner, by the Command of the prevailing Rebels, were barbarously murder'd* ; and so the Guilt of innocent

innocent Blood was brought upon their own Heads, and the whole Nation, who, though neither Judges, nor Prosecutors of them, yet look'd on and silently suffer'd it ; the great Power of those who enslav'd the three Nations, might, in some Measure, lessen the general Guilt, but nothing can possibly abate of the flagrant Guilt of the capital Rebels. We know that there are some Wars very lawful and justifiable, in which many must necessarily fall on both Sides ; yet, while the Subjects fight under the Command of their own natural Princes, and have nothing to do to inquire into the first Motives to the War, they are not look'd upon as Murderers on either Side ; but for a private Centinel, newly listed, and who had not yet taken the military Oath, to kill an Enemy, unless it were purely in his own Defence, was accounted Murder among the *Romans*, and the Man severely punishable by the Rules of their military Discipline ; nay, they were as hardly dealt with, who attack'd their Enemies before their General had given the Word ; and if there was any Reason for this Rigour, what Punishments ought they to suffer, who fall foul upon their Fellow-Subjects, against the positive Command of their Sovereign, or his Generals ? All the People of these Kingdoms were, as I shew'd before, the King's natural Subjects ; they were all equally under his Protection ; his Laws observ'd were sufficient to keep the Peace among them ; and none certainly can be faulty, indeed, for adhering to the Person of the King, and obeying the Laws then actually in Force. The fundamental Laws of these Kingdoms are, by no means, contrary to the Laws of God, or of Reason ; if any Law can be prov'd so, it's actually null and void, tho' enacted by never so great and united an Authority. Those who without any lawful Commission, fight with and kill their Fellow-Subjects, for maintaining their present Laws, which are the only Laws in Force, and for assisting their Prince in putting them in Execution, must be Murderers, under what other Pretexte soever they shed Blood. He who dies wrongfully, tho' under Pretext of Law, is really murder'd, much more is he murder'd who is kill'd by his Fellow-Subject, against all the Laws of God and Man.

It has made some Disputes among Men of Piety and Learning, whether, under the Christian Economy, it were lawful for the civil Magistrate to make Use of the Sword, or to put any to Death for the greatest Crime ; whether these Disputes have been reasonable or not, all those who dy'd for their Fidelity to their God and Saviour, were look'd upon as murder'd, tho' their Persecutors took their Lives according to Laws then in Being, or occasionally enacted by the Prince ; and were therefore call'd Martyrs, such Decrees being contrary to the Laws of God : What Guilt then must they have contracted, what Damnation must they have drawn upon themselves, who, in Defiance to the fifth Commandment, in Defiance to all the Obligations laid upon them

by

by the blessed *Jesus* and his *Apostles*, that they should follow *Peace* with all *Men*, that they should submit themselves, whether to the *King*, as *Supream*, or unto *Governors*, as those who are sent by him, not only for *Wrath*, but for *Conscience Sake*; in *Defiance* of all the *Laws* of a *Nation*, made by the *free* and *full Consent*, and at the *humble Petition* of their *unbrib'd*, *unmercenary* *Representatives*, could draw the *Sword* of *Rebellion* against their *lawful Governors*, and their *Christian Brethren*, who honestly stood up in *Defence* of our *excellent Constitution*, and the *Person* of their *pious Sovereign, Charles the 1st*. He did his *Part*; he appear'd in the *Head* of his *honest and faithful Servants*, and expos'd his *precious Life* to all the *Dangers* of the *bloody Field*, to rescue them from the *wicked Designs* of *cruel* and *blood-thirsty Men*. Now every *Motion* these *Men* made in all that *unnatural War*, to destroy the *King*, or his *faithful Servants*, were *Treason*; every *Person* who dy'd in *Defence* of their *Prince*, and his *just Authority*, their *Blood* being *shed* without *Authority*, and against *Law*, were *wickedly murder'd*; but above all, those were *murder'd* with the *most solemn Circumstances* of *Impiety*, who being *envy'd* for their *Goodness* and *Wisdom*, or *taken Prisoners* on the *Surrendry* of *Garrisons*, or in the *Field* of *Battel*, were *attainted*, *sentenc'd* to *Death*, and *villainously executed*, for daring to do what the *known Laws* of the *Kingdom* requir'd of them, and all this under the *odious Title* of *Rebels*, *Traitors*, and *Murderers*; but if they call the *Master* of the *House Belzebub*, what will they not *presume* to call his *Servants*? Thus that *noble and great Earl of Strafford* was *taken off* in such a *Way*, that the *Murderers* themselves were *afraid*, lest, in *better Times*, their *horrid Wickedness* should be drawn into *Precedent* against *themselves*. Thus, again, that *worthy, zealous, and learned Asserter* of the *Protestant Cause, Arch-bishop Laud*, was *martyr'd* by no *better Authority* than an *Ordinance* of the *pretended House of Commons*; a *House* so *far from* being a *Court of Judicature*, that, as a *House*, they can't *so much as administer an Oath*. Thus dy'd the *valiant and loyal Earl of Derby*, the *Lord Capel*, *Sir Charles Lucas*, *Sir George Lisle*, and many others, the *Glories* of their *own honourable Families*, but to the *eternal Disgrace* of a *rebellious and unconsidering People*. Those were all *murder'd*; and those, again, who, at the *Instigation* of *false Teachers* and *notorious Traitors*, dy'd with their *Swords* in their *Hands*, against their *God*, their *King*, and their *Laws*, were by those who drew them in *barbarously murder'd*, and *eternally damn'd together*, and their *Blood* and their *Souls* will be requir'd of them, and of all who are related to those *desperate Principles* on which they went in that *black Rebellion*, of this *Generation*.

For whatever *ignorant* or *time-serving Divines*, *Lawyers*, or *Statesmen*, in *Confederacy* with them, may *preach*, or *plead*, or *practice*; none but *Papists* ever formerly laid down such *Principles* as the *Rebellion* in *41*, or the *Murder* in *48* were carry'd on by;

by ; and none but *Papists or Atheists* can ever go about to defend them. The State of Nature, the Original of Power from the People, and Princes being only their Trustees, and deposable whenever the People suppose them unfaithful to their Trust, were Notions tolerable, it may be, in Heathens, who had no better Light than what they found among themselves, of whom Mr. Hobbs, that great Oracle of many of our modern Divines and Politicians, says truly enough, — There are several Books written by *Roman Citizens*, during the Flourishing of that Commonwealth, or soon after it was turn'd into a Monarchy again, and by *Greek Authors*, during the Prosperity of the *Athenian Republick*, full of such Precepts and such Examples, as serve only to render the Minds of the Populace inveterate against Monarchical Government ; and that for no other Reason, but because in those Books they find the foulest Villanies perpetrated by perfidious Wretches, as particularly, the Murder of Kings highly prais'd and recommended, especially if they had but fix'd the Name of Tyrant upon them, before they kill'd them. But the Thoughts of the Vulgar are yet more corrupted, by reading such Books, and hearing of such Sermons, as subject the Regal Authority to any other. So that, when they have serv'd the Ambition of others in killing their Kings, they are ready to fancy that they do God good Service. — To prevent which Mischief in elder Days, *Sophocles, the Son of Amphiclides*, made a Law, that ' no Philosopher should presume, upon Pain of Death, to open a School, 'till he got a Decree of Leave from the *Athenian Senate and People*. — And *Plato* thought not fit, that any Poet (and Poets and Philosophers were their Divines) should dare to make any Thing that intrench'd upon the Laws of the Commonwealth, or to represent any such to the Publick as honest or good. Nor should it be lawful for him to shew any thing he had written to any Person in private, 'till such Time as those who were appointed to be Judges in the Case, and who were empower'd to put the Laws in Execution, should have perus'd and approv'd it. — But we need not go no farther than our own Histories, to shew how insecure the Government of Princes must needs be, while the Lawfulness of resisting rightful Princes by Force of Arms, is openly asserted ; and a Man may wonder, that those who have the Word of God before them, to consult and call themselves Christians, should dare to talk of what they call a State of Nature, and to deprive God himself of the Honour of being the sole Founder of all Government, and therefore of Monarchy in particular ; and where they have no one Instance of Rebellion against idolatrous Princes, for their Idolatry, even where the Law of God himself made it Death, without Mercy, for any to worship Idols ; where the great Captain of our Salvation never enlisted any into his Service, in Opposition to his own Vicegerents, and himself and his Apostles thought it necessary to put all private Christians in Mind — To be

be subject to Principalities and Powers: — A Charge equivalent to that of being instant in Season and out of Season; and where Men of good Parts and Sense are forc'd to make such Interpretations of inflexible Texts, as the Glosser of the Canon Law made upon the Word *Statuimus*, when he explain'd it by *Abrogamus*. If sovereign Princes have any Regard to their own Safety, they can never look on the Preachers of such Doctrines, but as a Parcel of factious and seditious Men, who study to embroil all Governments, and would fain keep the Crown always in Pupilage to themselves, under the Name of the *People*, and make every Man a competent Judge of the Male-Administration of the Sovereign.

If the Broachers of such Notions did not by the *People* always understand themselves, it were impossible that *καὶ Κόρης καὶ κοὐδὸν* should tell us of the *People's* expecting some Things, which, if their Votes were gather'd one by one, would not amount to a two hundredth Part of them. I'm pretty confident, that there's no Warrant in the whole Book of God, for People calling their Princes to an Account for their Misgovernments, nor is there any Need of such a Power in them. We are infallibly assur'd, that *Promotion cometh neither from the East, nor from the West, from the North, nor from the South, but it's God alone who puts down one, and sets up another*: He therefore is the sole competent and righteous Judge of the Miscarriages of Princes; and he who made them, let them be never so great, can make his Sword approach to them, and so he does; *Saul* had no sooner forgotten his Duty to God, but, though the People took no Notice of it, God rejected him and his Family from reigning over *Israel*, deliver'd him up to be insulted by the common Enemy, and gave his Throne to the Son of *Jesse*, the Man after his own Heart; and no sooner had *David* farr'd, as an unjust Tyrant and Adulterer, but tho' *Israel* murmur'd not, God gave a Commission to the Sword to savage his Family, and made him fly from his Capital City, to escape the unnatural Cruelty of his double Rebel *Abdalom*. *Solomon* had no sooner indulg'd his idolatrous Wives and Concubines, but God rais'd him Enemies; and as a Punishment to him for his Ingratitude, rent ten Tribes of twelve from his indiscreet Son. And where Heathen Kings and Emperors grew Persecutors of the Church of Christ, he found Means to punish them according to their Deserts. In this Kingdom the Usurpation of *Henry the First* was visited in the Loss of his Heirs Male, and his Daughter's never coming to the Crown herself. *Stephen* left no Heir behind him. *Richard the First*, tho' a great Man, yet having been in Rebellion against his King and Father, was kill'd in a Siege, and dy'd childless. *Edward the Third* having, tho' not of himself, slept into his Father's Throne too soon, lost the best and bravest of Sons in his declining Years, and had his Grandson, no vicious Prince, pull'd down by his Kinsman *Henry the Fourth*. *Henry the Fourth's* Son was taken away in his full Career of Victories; and his Grandson, a Prince

of excellent Parts and Piety, for the Sins of his Grandfather, depos'd and barbarously murder'd. *Edward the Fourth*, a lewd, ambitious, perjur'd Prince, had his Cruelty and Falshood to the House of *Lancaster* reveng'd by the untimely Death of his two innocent Sons, by the traitorous Contrivance of his own Brother, and the sad Catastrophe of that Brother's unnatural Usurpation.

It's granted that, as in many of the Cases mention'd, God sometimes permits Subjects to be the Instruments of his Judgment upon their Kings; as *Je-hu*, by particular divine Commission destroy'd *Joram* and *Abaziah* in one Day; and *Jeroboam* had Leave from God to strip *Rehoboam* of the greater Part of his Kingdom. So he punish'd several of the persecuting *Roman Emperors*, such as *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Valerian*, *Julian*, *Valens*, by their Enemy, or mutinous Armies, or treacherous Friends, or by his own more immediate Stroke; but God never made Use of any good Man in these strange Works of his; the Executioners of his Wrath were Men of loose or no Principles, either religious or civil; such Rods as were fit for nothing but to be cast into the Fire, when God had done with them. Again, sometimes an impious, degenerate, and ingrateful People, for their loud crying Sins, are permitted to destroy the best of their Princes with their own Hands, as not deserving to be govern'd by such excellent Men; so the *Jews* brought that incomparable Prince *Josias* to his End; God was resolv'd to destroy *Judah* and *Jerusalem* for their Wickedness; *Josias* was that *Lot* who staid his revenging Hands, and was to be remov'd e'er the King of *Babylon* could do any thing. The *Roman Empire*, degenerated from their ancient Christian Zeal, was to be ravag'd by the barbarous Nations; but *Gratian* was first to be taken away from the Evil to come; *England* was to be mark'd out for Vengeance, but that Saint-like King, *Henry the Sixth*, with his hopeful Son, must be cut off, e'er *Edward's* Lust, or *Richard's* Usurpation, could come on. *Edward the Sixth* must be destroy'd, before popish Cruelty could shew it self again in its proper Colours, And *Charles the First*, a Prince of unparallell'd Piety and Virtue, must be turn'd out of his Throne first, and then out of the World, before the fanatick Rage of Enthusiastick Traitors could take Place, or Hell be quite let loose in Perjury, Treason, Rebellion, Murder, Usurpation; or the most exquisite Tyranny in the World could, according to their Demerits, harrass a stiff-neck'd, unthankful, hypocritical Generation; though, after a dismal Interval, it pleas'd God, in a miraculous Manner, to settle the Martyr's rightfull Heir upon his Father's Throne, and, with him, to restore our ancient Laws, and our reform'd Religion, to its former Honour and Pre-eminence.

God then concerning himself so far in the Affairs of Nations and Kingdoms, especially theirs who profess his holy Religion, why should Men be covetous of the Character of the worst of Christians? Why should they pawn their Souls to Hell for that which they miscall the publick Good? Who has requir'd this at

their Hands? Has God no Care of his People when they suffer? Must they do themselves Right, for fear they should find no Justice with him? Have they ever found Rebels prosper long, or Revolutions tend to the Peace and Prosperity of any Nation? If Men repent heartily of their own Sins, and seek humbly to that God, in whose Hands the Hearts of Princes are, is it impossible that he should rescue them from their real Troubles? Did not he change *Manasseh* from an idolatrous and cruel, to an excellent and truly Penitent Prince? Could not he give *Mordecai*, and his Country-Men, Favour in the Sight of *Ahasuerus* King of *Perſia*, and the Christians Peace from all their Persecutors, and *England* Deliverances from the Fury, both of *Papists* and *Fanaticks*? But if we'll do all for our selves, without any manner of Dependance upon Heaven, or any Regard to the Precepts of Christianity; if we'll plot and rebel against our lawful Superiors, murder our Brethren in hot or cold Blood; if we cannot bear Virtue in high Degree, but must blacken and vilify the Characters of Princes, we shall soon be fill'd with our own Devices, and going on still to do wickedly, we shall suddenly be destroy'd, both we and our King.

But being call'd this Day to humble our Souls before God, for that Sin in which *pretended Protestants* out-did the utmost Extravagancies of *profess'd Papists*, which I mention, not to excuse or extenuate the dangerous Principles of Popery, but to lay in open View the Practices of Atheists and Hypocrites; give me Leave, as *Anthony* did before the *Romans*, when he made *Cæsar's* Funeral Oration, to lay before you the bloody Robe of our *British* murder'd *Cæsar*. *Charles* the 1st of blessed Memory, the Son of Kings by a long Descent of many Generations, upon the Demise of his Father, was, by the three Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, joyfully receiv'd as their lawful and rightful Monarch, and, as such, receiv'd the *Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy* from all such as the Law requir'd should take it. He was a Prince of the greatest personal Virtues of any Christian Prince in many Ages; he never set his Subjects an Example of Lewdness, Epicurism, Intemperance, Cruelty, Revenge, Swearing, Blasphemy, Profaneness, or any other Immorality whatsoever; we don't pretend that he was a Man without Sin, but that constant Watch he kept upon himself would not let him be guilty wilfully of any. He was so steady in the Protestant Religion, as establish'd in the Church of *England*, that all the Arguments and Artifices of *Spain*, all the Fondnesses of a Wife, all the Ingratitude, Perjuries, Treasons, and Rebellions of those who pretended to be the greatest Zealots for the same Religion (the most dangerous Temptations in the World) could never alienate him from it. His Justice and Tenderness for his Subjects, shew'd it self upon every Occasion; and, for fifteen Years together, while the Spirit of Faction was in some Measure kept down, no Nations under Heaven were more happy, or more flourishing than these were, under his peaceable and auspicious Government.

But this Man, and this Peace, was what Hell envy'd, and what *Rome* could not bear with; and which wicked and ungodly Men could not look on, without the most dreadful Apprehensions which ever tormented guilty Consciences: On this Man therefore they resolv'd to be reveng'd. The Sons of *Belial*, those hellish Jugglers, cast such a Mist before the Eyes even of some well-meaning Men, that they, for some Time, believ'd it possible, that a sincere Protestant might bring in Popery; and that a Person who himself observ'd the *Laws* with the greatest Exactness, might design to bring in Tyranny and arbitrary Government. The Rebels, as they then design'd to be, if they could not compass their Ends other Ways, threw so much Dirt upon the Royal Character, rais'd so many Suspicions and Jealousies of the King in the Minds of his Subjects, that his Innocence and Goodness could no more protect him, than they could protect his blessed Master before him from the Fury of the *Jews*. They try'd first to perswade him to unking himself, by the Propositions they made him, when they thought him wholly uncapable of opposing them. They try'd to blast his Reputation and Honour among Foreigners, and at Home they insinuated his Want of Parts and Abilities, who had one of the soundest and best turn'd Heads for Argument and Busines in *Christendom*, as they, who had believ'd the Scandal, found, when they had the Happiness to converse with him. For any Man then to supply his King with Men, Money, or Provisions, with a Crew of desperate Traitors, was High Treason; for Clergy-men to preach up the Duty of Subjects to their natural Prince, to move any to petition for Peace, and to stand by the untainted Doctrines of the Church of *England*, was the highest Malignity, and rewarded with Sequestration or a Prison. When they had once got their King into their Hands, they'd not allow him the Use of his own *Chaplains*, the Attendance of his own *Friends* or *Servants*, or the Use of the *Common Prayers* of the Church, in which he might address himself to his Maker; while he who had breath'd nothing but Peace to them who delighted in War, even when he was in his highest, and they in their lowest Circumstances, was spending his Time in holy Meditations, and pouring out his humble Soul to God in Prayers for his obdurate Rebels and Persecutors. If ill Air, and ill Usage, and ill and disagreeable Company, could have kill'd him sooner, it would have sav'd the Rebels much Trouble and much Scandal; but the last his natural Goodness conquer'd, and the other God's wise Providence put by for a while, to let the World see how far Royal Patience, and rebellious Wickedness, when left to it self, might go. He who so much lamented his own Weakness in giving Way to the Murder of his faithful *Strafford*, could never have been capable of Cruelty himself: No, the Family of the *STUARTS* were always merciful, as many, who little deserv'd it, have experimentally found.

Think then, my Brethren, that you see this great, this good, this wise, this religious, yet brave Monarch, before a Herd of

Boors, Men of no Birth, no Worth, no Honour, baited by an impudent pettifogging Lawyer, under the Name of President of what they nick-nam'd an *High Court of Justice*, and a Juncto of cut-throat Rebels, accus'd by a mercenary Wretch, who could own him for one of the best of Men and Princes, and yet declare, *that he must die, and Monarchy with him*. See that venerable Majestick Face scornfully spit upon, and all the Affronts and Indignities put upon a King, which an ill-bred, ill-natur'd Soldiery knew how to offer him, and himself patiently wiping off the filthy Spittle, and expressing no other Resentment of their Barbarity, but Pity. See him brought at last to the Scaffold, as a Lamb to the Slaughter, to die a *Martyr* for the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of his People, undaunted yet, and unconcern'd at the hidous Prospect of a violent Death. Think on those wise and gracious Words he there utter'd. Observe his Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven, and his Soul more pleas'd with a near View of that immarcessible Crown of Glory to which he was from thence call'd, than it had ever been with the greatest Lustre of an Earthly Crown. Observe the Emissaries of *Rome* rejoicing, and the Exultations of triumphant Hypocrites, while Floods of Tears roll down the mournful Cheeks of his poor desolate Friends, and of all honest and sincere *British* Christians. All pious Hearts were shock'd at the fatal Blow. Christianity it self felt deadly Convulsions at it; and the very *Judas's* themselves, whose malicious Activity had laid their Sovereign's sacred Head at the Feet of a Company of Godless Murderers, were almost ready to relent, when it was too late to save their Prince's Life. Bring but these Things to Memory, my Friends; reflect impartially upon them, and continue hard-hearted if you can. But I see there are some here, who are so far from grieving for the Sufferings of the Royal Martyr, that they would have their Serpentine Followers always biting the Heels of Monarchy, and making Subjects, who act by Christian Measures, Asses. They long for another Carouze of Royal Blood; they don't really like any one King better than another, but hate Monarchy; flatter their Prince to blind his Eyes, but would rather have a Commonwealth than him. Let such kindle themselves a Fire, and delight themselves in the Sparks of it, may but God at last forgive the crying Sin of this gloomy Day. May he graciously forgive our Enemies, Persecutors, and Slanderers, and turn their Hearts. And that they may be Subjects capable of that Pardon, may they make Haste to turn to their God with sincere Repentance. Our publick Affairs have yet but a cloudy Aspect, and are but indifferently settled. That we may divert God's threatening Vengeance; that the youngest of our Eyes may never see the horrid Sin of this Day repeated in our Nation, let us learn, before it be too late, to live in the true Faith and Fear of God, in true Loyalty and Obedience to our lawful Sovereign, and in Brotherly Love and Charity one towards another. *Whicb God of his Mercy grant.* Amen. Amen.

